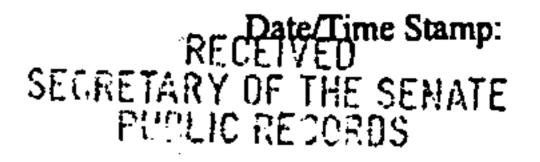
# Employee Post-Travel Disclosure of Travel Expenses



Post-Travel Filing Instructions: Complete this form within 30 days of returning from 2020 JAN -8 PM 2: 36 travel. Submit all forms to the Office of Public Records in 232 Hart Building.

	-	rtification Form with all		
- ' ' '	ember 2, 2019-No	<u>-</u>	gram) & Camegie End	dowment for International Peace
avel date(s):				<u> </u>
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	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
Good Faith	\$1600	\$1000	\$525	\$290 conference
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Good Faith				
Actual Amount				
. •	of all meetings and evaluated agenda	ents attended. See Senat	e Rule 35.2(c)(6).	(Attach additional pages if
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I have made a determination that the expenses set out above in connections with travel described in the Employee Pre-Travel Authorization form, are necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses as defined in Rule 35.

(Revised 1/3/11)

### PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

The	e Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) & Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Des	scription of the trip: The conference will provide the opportunity for congressional staff members to
en	gage directly with Chinese and Americans based in China to explore US-China policy
Dat	es of travel: November 2-8, 2019
	ce of travel: Beijing, China
Naı	ne and title of Senate invitees: See question #5 of attached agenda
l ce	rtify that the trip fits one of the following categories:
X	(A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
X	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
X	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
_	ertify that:
×.	The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for <i>de minimis</i> lobbyist involvement.
X	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

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Transportation   Lodging   Meal   Other	members of Congress;	five lunches for congre	ssional staff each y	ear - each event off	ering a leading
\$1600 \$1000 \$525 \$290 Conference expenses in meeting spandiol vision services a visa cost visa c	scholar on a key public	policy issue. See att	ached appendix		
\$1600 \$1000 \$525 \$290 Conference is a standard or organized without regard to congression participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized without regard to congression participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized without regard to congression participation.  The conference is organized specifically with regard to congressional participants.  Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip  Beijing provides the opportunity to engage with Chinese and Americans residing in China to explore US policy options regarding China.  Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:  Sofitel Beijing Central	Total Expenses for Each	n Participant:			
Good Faith estimate  Actual Amounts  State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized without regard to congression participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized specifically with regard to congressional participation:  The conference is organized specifically with regard to congressional participation:  Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip  Beijing provides the opportunity to engage with Chinese and Americans residing in China to explore US policy options regarding China.  Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:  Sofitel Beijing Central		3. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8. 8.	\$\$\$\$\$\$##\$	日 3 177 (144) 4 2 4 2 4 2 4 2 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	Other
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# PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

SIGNATURE PAGE FOR ADDITIONAL SPONSOR

(to be completed by each additional sponsor).

I hereby certify that the information contained on pages 1-4 of the certification form and any
accompanying addenda, all submitted in connection with the November 2-8, 2019 trip
Beijing, China is true, complete, and correct.  Place of Travel  is true, complete, and correct.
Signature of Travel Sponsor:
Name and Title: Elizabeth Dibble, Chief Operating Officer
Name of Organization: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Address: 1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036-2103
Telephone Number: 202 939 2223
Fax Number: N/A
E-mail Address: edibble@ceip.org





June 17, 2019

Livia Shmavonian Legislative Assistant Office of Senator Bob Casey 393 Russell Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510

Dear Livia:

We are pleased to invite you to participate in congressional staff initiative, *U.S.-China Relations:* A New Era, hosted by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program in collaboration with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The initiative features two lunch briefings, on July 15th and September 17th, an evening event in late October with prominent foreign policy experts, and concludes with a conference in **Beijing, China, November 2-8, 2019** (including travel). Please see the following documents for the conference agenda and an informational one-pager.

This invitation is non-transferrable – invitees have been hand-selected from a pool of qualified, experienced staff with the intent of creating thoughtful bipartisan dialogue on U.S.-China relations. Pre-conference events as well as lodging, travel, and conference costs will be paid by the Aspen Institute and Carnegie Endowment, as approved by House and Senate ethics committees.

If you are interested, please respond to this invitation by June 21st, and our team will follow up with further details and instructions. Should you have any questions, please reach out to Lauren Kennedy at lauren.kennedy@aspeninstitute.org, or Douglas Farrar at Douglas.Farrar@ceip.org.

Sincerely,

Secretary Dan Glickman Executive Director

Jan Pelisknan

Aspen Institute Congressional Program

Ambassador William J. Burns President

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

# U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A NEW ERA

# THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

# in collaboration with

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE November 2-8, 2019 Beijing, China Conference For Senior Congressional Staff

#### SATURDAY, November 2:

1:50 pm:

Participants depart Washington, D.C. on United Airlines flight 807

#### **SUNDAY, November 3:**

3:40 pm:

Participants arrive in Beijing

6:30–8:30 pm: *Working Dinner* 

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Scholars Robert Daly, Director of the Kissinger Institute at the Wilson Center, and Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center, will add to the discussions which will serve as an orientation session.

#### **MONDAY, November 4:**

8-9:30 am:

Working Breakfast

#### SETTING THE STAGE

China's rise to a major economic and strategic player on the global stage over the last three decades has been a phenomenal story that now positions it as a major competitor to the U.S. The future direction of this dynamic relationship is the focus of our programming this week. Directors Haenle and Daly will each give their views and perspectives of the week ahead.

> Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

9:30-11:30 am: Educational Commentary in transit to the Great Wall of China

### WHY CHINA BUILT THE GREAT WALL, AND WHAT IT MEANS ABOUT CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SENSE OF NATIONHOOD TODAY

Construction of the Great Wall of China was started as far back as the 7th century B.C., but the best-preserved sections were built during the Ming Dynasty, (1368-1644). It is an engineering wonder, wandering up hills and along ridges, intended to divide China from foreign invaders. Directors Haenle and Daly will elaborate on the rationale for the wall, its effectiveness, and what it symbolizes about the concept of nationhood and Chinese identity that connects to contemporary China.

> Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

Ongoing military and security concerns exist in the western Pacific, exacerbated by China's island reclamation project in the South China Sea. Regional relationships, including with American ally Japan, play a key role in these considerations. The U.S. relationship with Taiwan has always been a point of contention with China, which sees it as a province destined to eventually return to the mainland's jurisdiction. Hong Kong's fate, accented by televised demonstrations this summer, highlights the tension inherent in the "one country, two systems" formula. China has taken steps perceived as increasing an arms race with the U.S. Beijing and Washington collaborate on stability on the Korean peninsula, antiterrorism and nonproliferation. However, suspicion and a lack of trust underlies the security dimension of U.S.-China relations. Cybersecurity has emerged as another realm of vulnerability.

- As China grows in global stature, is it fulfilling its role as a "responsible stakeholder" in addressing shared global challenges?
   How does China's pursuit of its regional and global aspirations fit with America's goals?
   What is the consequence of the U.S. labelling China a strategic competitor?
   What is the nature of the changing relationship between China and Russia and its relevance to the U.S.?
- How long can the status quo in Hong Kong and Taiwan prevail? What tools
  does the U.S. have to impact those situations? How does the administration's
  proposed \$8 billion arms sale to Taiwan fit into regional security concerns?
  To what degree are human rights concerns in China relevant to the U.S.?
- Are there areas where China and the U.S. can cooperate, such as in combatting terrorism and addressing policy challenges in the Middle East?

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center

Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie China Center

Wang Jisi, President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

**Gui Yongtao**, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Guo Chu**, Assistant Research Fellow, School of International Studies, Peking University

**Hu Ran**, Project Director, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Lai Huaxia, Assistant Professor, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Lei Shaohua**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Li Boran, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Liang Yabin**, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Party School, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

1:30-2:45 pm Transit to U.S. Embassy & Security Clearance

3-4:30 pm Briefing with U.S. Embassy Staff

Dialogue with Security, Economic, Energy, and Political Expert Staff

Ambassador Terry Branstad, joined by the following Embassy staff:

Seth Bailey, Political Section Bill Block, Treasury Department

Cynthia Griffin, Foreign Commercial Service

Oliver Gaines, Consular Affairs

Captain Thomas Henderschedt, Defense Attache'

Jeffrey Loree, Public Affairs Matt Murray, Economics Section

Bobby Richey, Foreign Agriculture Service

Daniel Wald, EST-H

Adam Wong, Department of Energy

5:15-6:45 pm: Pre-dinner dialogue

#### OFF-THE-RECORD

#### WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS BASED IN BEIJING

Western journalists resident in China have gained unique perspectives on security, economic and environmental challenges in the U.S.-China relationship. This off-the-record session is designed to facilitate a back-and-forth dialogue to provide an opportunity for senior congressional staff to benefit from the perspectives of journalists who understand many of the complex nuances of these policy challenges.

6:45-8:15 pm: Working dinner

Discussion will continue over dinner and focus on topics covered in discussions earlier today, enhanced by the participation of scholars Robert Daly, Paul Haenle and the participating journalists. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

#### **WEDNESDAY**, November 6:

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8-9:00 am: Working Breakfast

CHINA'S VIEWS OF SECURITY CONCERNS

Jun Liu, Counselor, Department of North American and Oceanic Affairs

China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

9-9:30 am: Transit to Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

9:30-11:30 am: Roundtable Discussion

Social Sciences

**Dong Yan**, Director, Research Section of International Trade, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Hou Lei, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Peng Chengyi**, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of World Political Theory, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Ren Lin**, Director, Department of Global Governance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Song Hong**, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yang Zirong, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of International Strategy, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yao Zhizong, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

12-1:30 pm: Working Lunch

### U.S.-CHINA TRADE FRICTIONS

Economic advisors offer their perspectives.

Brian Jackson, Medley Advisors Michael Pettis, Professor of Finance, Peking University

2-4:00 pm

Tiananmen Square, Temple of Heaven and other historic landmarks This will provide an opportunity to see Tiananmen Square, a focal point for the central government and the site of the 1989 demonstrations that led to violent suppression. Tiananmen is now a symbol of the aspirations of Chinese youth 30 years ago for a more open society which were crushed by the ruling Communist Party. It will also provide the opportunity to see other historic. landmarks including the Temple of Heaven. These important reference points add texture and a visual reference point to the policy conversations this week.

5:45-7:15 pm: *Pre-Dinner Dialogue* 

#### CHINESE PERSPECTIVES ON U.S.-CHINA POLICY CHALLENGES

This session is designed to give senior congressional staff an opportunity to learn from and engage with Chinese scholars who work at Chinese think tanks on key aspects of U.S.-China relations, to provide a unique opportunity to gain insights and perspectives from different points of view.

**Ding Yifan**, Senior Fellow, Institute of World Development Xiong Zhiyong, Professor, Department of Diplomacy, China Foreign Affairs University

Xie Tao, Dean, School of International Relations and Diplomacy, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Zhou Qi, Executive President, National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University

advancements in this new frontier and discuss the implications for future U.S.-China relations.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at American scale?
  - Is the American regulatory environment necessary to guarantee consumer protections regarding AI, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry that would put the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage versus China?
- Which nation is likely to prevail in AI advance, and what are the global implications of dominance in the field?

**Brian Tse**, Senior Advisor, Center for the Governance of AI, University of Oxford **Dan Wang**, Technology Analyst, GaveKal Group, Beijing

2-4:30 pm:

Forbidden City Visit

The Forbidden City was the central repository of rule by the Ming and Qing dynasties for centuries until upheavals of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. It is now a showpiece to instill pride in China's culture and tradition. This visit will help provide an understanding of China's historical continuity as a power in Asia. This visit will also provide insight into China's <u>self-image</u> as one of a great power on a historical trajectory of grandeur – which is reflected in its domestic policies and international relations.

5:45-7 pm:

Pre-Dinner Discussion

# CHINA'S NEW MIDDLE CLASS AND CIVIL SOCIETY: THE IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND GOVERNANCE

In the last 40 years, with China's economic opening to the world, China's middle class has grown from a sliver to an estimated 420 million people, roughly one-third of its population. This lifting of hundreds of millions out of poverty has increased standards of living and life expectancy, created a consumer class and added new dimensions of political and demographic factors to Chinese society. During this same time period, China's urban population has soared from 19 percent in 1980 to 58 percent in 2017. A majority of the middle class has internet access, which has contributed to China's massive e-commerce market. Increased consumption has added to environmental stresses and more sedentary lifestyles have led to higher health care costs. We will hear perspectives from two Beijing residents on the rise of China's middle class and its impact on modern Chinese society, with broader implications for the U.S.-China relationship.

Elizabeth Knup, China Director, The Ford Foundation

7-9 pm

Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Paul Haenle, Dan Wang, Brian Jackson, Brian Tse, and Elizabeth Knup.

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center Jia Qingguo, Professor, School of International Studies, Peking University Li Yong, Senior Fellow, China Association of International Trade Ambassador Su Ge, Co-Chair, China's Pacific Economic Cooperation Council Wang Yiwei, Director, Institute of International Affairs, Renmin University Yao Yao, Director, Center for National Soft Power Research, China Foreign Affairs University

Zhang Yuyuan, Director, Institute of World Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

1:30-2:00 pm: Transit to hotel

2:00-2:45 pm Check out of hotel, luggage onboard bus

2:45-3:45 pm: Transit to the airport for international check-in

6:25 pm:

Depart Beijing on United Airlines #808

6:50 pm: Arrive in Washington, D.C.

# U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS: A NEW ERA

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

## in collaboration with

THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

November 2-8, 2019 Beijing, China Conference For Senior Congressional Staff

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Participants depart Washington, D.C. on United Airlines flight 807 1:50 pm:

### SUNDAY, November 3:

3:40 pm: Participants arrive in Beijing

6:30–8:30 pm: Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Scholars Robert Daly, Director of the Kissinger Institute at the Wilson Center, and Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center, will add to the discussions which will serve as an orientation session.

#### MONDAY, November 4:

8-9:30 am: Working Breakfast

#### SETTING THE STAGE

China's rise to a major economic and strategic player on the global stage over the last three decades has been a phenomenal story that now positions it as a major competitor to the U.S. The future direction of this dynamic relationship is the focus of our programming this week. Directors Haenle and Daly will each give their views and perspectives of the week ahead.

> Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

9:30-11:30 am: Educational Commentary in transit to the Great Wall of China

### WHY CHINA BUILT THE GREAT WALL, AND WHAT IT MEANS ABOUT CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND SENSE OF NATIONHOOD TODAY

Construction of the Great Wall of China was started as far back as the 7th century B.C., but the best-preserved sections were built during the Ming Dynasty, (1368-1644). It is an engineering wonder, wandering up hills and along ridges, intended to divide China from foreign invaders. Directors Haenle and Daly will elaborate on the rationale for the wall, its effectiveness, and what it symbolizes about the concept of nationhood and Chinese identity that connects to contemporary China.

> Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

11:30-1:30 pm: Site Visit to The Great Wall at Jiankou

This visit to the Great Wall will illustrate what a mammoth engineering feat was undertaken to construct it along high mountain ridges for the goal of holding back invaders. The Jiankou section, 50 miles north of Beijing, believed to have been built in the Ming Dynasty, has not been restored and shows how the Wall has deteriorated over time. This visit has relevance to contemporary discussions regarding isolationism and security in foreign policy.

1:30-2:30 pm: Working Lunch

Scholars Robert Daly and Paul Haenle will focus on the impact of the Great Wall and policy implications and other issues to be addressed during the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas.

2:30-4:30 pm: Transit back to hotel

5:30-7:00 pm: *Pre-Dinner Dialogue* 

#### INSIGHTS FROM YOUNG BILINGUAL CHINESE

This session is designed to give senior congressional staff an opportunity to get to know several young, dynamic Chinese and to hear their perspectives about what it takes to operate successfully in China's political and economic structure. These individuals have achieved considerable success in the private sector and are at a point in their careers where they are looking toward the broader role they might take on in their communities or globally.

Anna Brachtendorf, Program Manager, Friedrich-Ebert Foundation Kevin Kerrigan, Strategic Risk and Media Affairs Consultant Thena Lee, Senior Manager for Marketing Operations, McLarty Associates Jun Mai, Beijing Correspondent, South China Morning Post

7-9 pm: Working Dinner

Scholars Paul Haenle and Robert Daly to continue the discussions, as well as the four Chinese individuals from the pre-dinner dialogue. Congressional staff are seated with scholars and the seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

#### TUESDAY, November 5:

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8:15-9:15 am: Transit to School of International Studies, Peking University

9:30-11:30 am: Roundtable Discussion

THE U.S.-CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: THE SECURITY DIMENSIONS

Ongoing military and security concerns exist in the western Pacific, exacerbated by China's island reclamation project in the South China Sea. Regional relationships, including with American ally Japan, play a key role in these considerations. The U.S. relationship with Taiwan has always been a point of contention with China, which sees it as a province destined to eventually return to the mainland's jurisdiction. Hong Kong's fate, accented by televised demonstrations this summer, highlights the tension inherent in the "one country, two systems" formula. China has taken steps perceived as increasing an arms race with the U.S. Beijing and Washington collaborate on stability on the Korean peninsula, antiterrorism and nonproliferation. However, suspicion and a lack of trust underlies the security dimension of U.S.-China relations. Cybersecurity has emerged as another realm of vulnerability.

- As China grows in global stature, is it fulfilling its role as a "responsible stakeholder" in addressing shared global challenges?
- How does China's pursuit of its regional and global aspirations fit with America's goals?
  - What is the consequence of the U.S. labelling China a strategic competitor?
- What is the nature of the changing relationship between China and Russia and its relevance to the U.S.?
- How long can the status quo in Hong Kong and Taiwan prevail? What tools
  does the U.S. have to impact those situations? How does the administration's
  proposed \$8 billion arms sale to Taiwan fit into regional security concerns?
  To what degree are human rights concerns in China relevant to the U.S.?
- Are there areas where China and the U.S. can cooperate, such as in combatting terrorism and addressing policy challenges in the Middle East?

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center

Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie China Center

Wang Jisi, President, Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University

Gui Yongtao, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Guo Chu**, Assistant Research Fellow, School of International Studies, Peking University

Hu Ran, Project Director, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Lai Huaxia, Assistant Professor, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Lei Shaohua, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Li Boran**, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

**Liang Yabin**, Associate Professor, Institute of International Studies, Party School, Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

Yu Tiejun, Vice President, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Zhao Jianwai, Research Associate, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Zeng Chuyuan, Research Assistant, Institute of International Studies, Peking University

Noon-1:30 pm: Working Lunch

# CHINA'S ENERGY/ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY CHALLENGES AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR U.S. POLICY

China and the U.S. are the two largest emitters of carbon. China gets two-thirds of its electricity from burning coal and uses more coal than the rest of the world combined, with just over half of global consumption. Coal burning for home heating in northern China reportedly takes an average of five years off a person's life, and over 1.2 million Chinese die prematurely annually from air pollution. China has massively expanded its use of renewables, with more than twice as much capacity as any other nation--solar and wind energy now providing 15% of the country's electricity. China is also expected to increase its consumption of natural gas to offset coal production and become a major importer of liquefied natural gas, which could provide a huge opportunity for a new U.S. export commodity. In an effort to lessen its coal dependency, China plans to nearly double its nuclear energy capacity with 11 new plants under construction, mostly utilizing American technology and suppliers, with a goal of nuclear energy providing 20 percent of its electrical needs by 2030. Meanwhile, China's global thirst for energy, water, metals, food products, and strategic minerals to support the rising living standards of its population of 1.4 billion—one-fifth of the world positions it as a resource competitor globally. To reduce fossil fuel dependence and lessen pollutants, China is now the world's largest market for electric vehicles.

- How severe are China's environmental challenges and what are their global implications?
- Should energy and environmental challenges be integrated with security and economic concerns?
  - Are international or multilateral agreements necessary to force reductions of carbon emissions?
  - Does China's "Cap and Trade" system on carbon emissions have relevance for the U.S.?
  - How does China's appetite for resources impact its development strategy in Africa?
- What is the future food security profile for China and its global impact?

**Dongquan He**, China Director, Energy Innovation **Jonathan Woetzel**, Director, McKinsey Global Institute, Sharighai **Xizhou Zhou**, Managing Director, Asia Pacific Power, IHS Markit

1:30-2:45 pm Transit to U.S. Embassy & Security Clearance

3-4:30 pm Briefing with U.S. Embassy Staff

Dialogue with Security, Economic, Energy, and Political Expert Staff

Ambassador Terry Branstad, joined by the following Embassy staff:

Seth Bailey, Political Section Bill Block, Treasury Department

Cynthia Griffin, Foreign Commercial Service

Oliver Gaines, Consular Affairs

Captain Thomas Henderschedt, Defense Attache'

Jeffrey Loree, Public Affairs Matt Murray, Economics Section

Bobby Richey, Foreign Agriculture Service

Daniel Wald, EST-H

Adam Wong, Department of Energy

5:15-6:45 pm: *Pre-dinner dialogue* 

OFF-THE-RECORD

#### WITH AMERICAN JOURNALISTS BASED IN BEIJING

Western journalists resident in China have gained unique perspectives on security, economic and environmental challenges in the U.S.-China relationship. This off-the-record session is designed to facilitate a back-and-forth dialogue to provide an opportunity for senior congressional staff to benefit from the perspectives of journalists who understand many of the complex nuances of these policy challenges.

6:45-8:15 pm: *Working dinner* 

Discussion will continue over dinner and focus on topics covered in discussions earlier today, enhanced by the participation of scholars Robert Daly, Paul Haenle and the participating journalists. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily.

#### WEDNESDAY, November 6:

7-8:00 am: Breakfast is available

8-9:00 am: Working Breakfast

CHINA'S VIEWS OF SECURITY CONCERNS

**Jun Liu**, Counselor, Department of North American and Oceanic Affairs

China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

9-9:30 am: Transit to Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

9:30-11:30 am: Roundtable Discussion

# THE U.S.-CHINA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: THE ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

China and the U.S. together account for nearly 35 percent of global Gross Domestic Product. Economic interdependence has been the underlying stable framework of U.S.-China relations, with China dependent on exports to the U.S. and the U.S. reliant on China's purchase of its debt. China is the largest foreign debt holder for the U.S., at \$1.1 trillion. This economic foundation of engagement between countries with fundamentally different political systems has been a stabilizing force, albeit one with some uneasiness. After 40 years of engagement in which economics served, in China's President Xi Jinping's phrase, as the "ballast" of the relationship, American dissatisfaction with China's trade and investment policies ignited a comprehensive competition. Protectionist strategies put in place with escalating tariffs from both sides have contributed to an atmosphere of a "trade war" between China and the U.S. The administration imposed these tariffs in response to what was perceived to be China's unfair practices of requiring U.S. firms to form joint ventures, to share U.S. technology, to be subject to intellectual property theft, and having to compete against often hidden state subsidies. Assuming that the costs of tariffs are passed on to consumers, it is estimated the financial impact of these tariffs will range from \$500 to \$1,000 annually for the average American household. China is unwilling to restructure its economy to meet American demands, however, and it is learning to leverage its wealth to build influence worldwide and within the U.S.

- Are there links between U.S.-China economic engagement and security issues?
   What are China's prospects for continued economic growth and why does it matter to the U.S.?
- Does China's increasing wealth carry commensurate global responsibilities?
  - Is the Belt & Road Initiative, China's global expansion plan, simply a program for "predatory lending," or is China providing global public goods and rewriting rules that may be accepted?

Last summer, for the first time in 25 years, the U.S. categorized China as a currency manipulator. What is the significance of this move?

To what degree does each country's development depend on economic engagement with the other?

How will the continued growth of China's middle class change China, and why does it matter to the U.S.?

What are the prospects for China's currency to become convertible and what would the global economic consequences be?

Which of China's trade and investment policies pose the greatest threat to the U.S., and what are the chances of altering them?

Zhao Hai, Research Fellow, Department of International Strategy, Instituțe of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Chen Yinmo, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of

Social Sciences

Dong Yan, Director, Research Section of International Trade, Institute of . World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Hou Lei, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences:

Peng Changyi, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of World Political Theory, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Ren Lin, Director, Department of Global Governance, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Song Hong, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yang Zirong, Assistant Research Fellow, Department of International Strategy, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Yao Zhizong, Deputy Director, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

12-1:30 pm: Working Lunch

U.S.-CHINA TRADE FRICTIONS

Economic advisors offer their perspectives

Brian Jackson, Medley Advisors Michael Pettis, Professor of Finance, Peking University

2-4:00 pm

Tiananmen Square, Temple of Heaven and other historic landmarks This will provide an opportunity to see Tiananmen Square, a focal point for the central government and the site of the 1989 demonstrations that led to violent suppression. Tiananmen is now a symbol of the aspirations of Chinese youth 30 years ago for a more open society which were crushed by the ruling Communist Party. It will also provide the opportunity to see other historic landmarks including the Temple of Heaven. These important reference points add texture and a visual reference point to the policy conversations this week.

5:45-7:15 pm: Pre-Dinner Dialogue

#### CHINESE PERSPECTIVES ON U.S.-CHINA POLICY CHALLENGES

This session is designed to give senior congressional staff an opportunity to learn from and engage with Chinese scholars who work at Chinese think tanks on key aspects of U.S.-China relations, to provide a unique opportunity to gain insights and perspectives from different points of view.

Ding Yifan, Senior Fellow, Institute of World Development Xiong Zhiyong, Professor, Department of Diplomacy, China Foreign Affairs University

Xie Tao, Dean, School of International Relations and Diplomacy, Beijing Foreign Studies University

Zhou Qi, Executive President, National Strategy Institute, Tsinghua University

# 7:15-9 pm Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Ding Yifan, Xiong Zhiyong, Xie Tao, and Zhou Qi.

#### THURSDAY, November 7:

8-9:00 am: Breakfast is available

9-10:00 am: Transit to Carnegie/Tsinghua Center

10-Noon: Panel Discussion

THE U.S., CHINA, NORTH KOREA TRIANGLE

Security concerns of the U.S. and its allies about North Korea and its nuclear threat have a direct connection to China, which is its major supporter and lifeline. Experts from the Carnegie/Tsinghua Center will provide analysis of the historical relationship between China and North Korea and the relevance of this relationship to U.S. concerns about its nuclear threat. Sanctions and bilateral versus multilateral initiatives will be analyzed.

Cheng Xiaone, Associate Professor, School of International Studies, Renmin University
Li Bin, Senior Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
Tong Zhao, Fellow, Nuclear Policy Program, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
Yang Wenjing, Chief of U.S. Foreign Policy, Institute of American Studies,
China Institute of Contemporary International Relations

12:30-2 pm: Luncheon Remarks

ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE AND ITS ROLE IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS Artificial Intelligence is a new dimension in the U.S.-China relationship. Some see it as a realm of global competition. Others see it as a natural development of a new industry that will have wide-ranging implications for both countries. China is far outspending the U.S. in AI research, and some think it will dominate the field. AI can be used at a mundane level to replace tedious tasks and at a more sophisticated level to quickly manage complex production systems, enhance military applications, and empower governments to exert more control over the governed. All requires vast amounts of data to operate predictably and efficiently, and how that data is obtained triggers privacy and security concerns. The scale and scope of projects underway is quite impressive. For example, sixty miles south of Bejing, China is planning to spend billions of dollars building a new city called Xiong'an, specifically designed for autonomous transportation, which is highly dependent on AI. One noted Chinese AI entrepreneur predicts that "within fifteen years, artificial intelligence will be able to replace around 40 to 50 percent of jobs in the United States." Our speakers will elaborate on the

advancements in this new frontier and discuss the implications for future U.S.-China relations.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at American scale?
- Is the American regulatory environment necessary to guarantee consumer protections regarding AI, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry that would put the U.S. at a competitive disadvantage versus China? Which nation is likely to prevail in AI advance, and what are the global implications of dominance in the field?

Brian Tse, Senior Advisor, Center for the Governance of AI, University of Oxford Dan Wang, Technology Analyst, GaveKal Group, Beijing

2-4:30 pm: Forbidden City Visit

The Forbidden City was the central repository of rule by the Ming and Qing dynasties for centuries until upheavals of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. It is now a showpiece to instill pride in China's culture and tradition. This visit will help provide an understanding of China's historical continuity as a power in Asia. This visit will also provide insight into China's <u>self-image</u> as one of a great power on a historical trajectory of grandeur – which is reflected in its domestic policies and international relations.

5:45-7 pm: Pre-Dinner Discussion

# CHINA'S NEW MIDDLE CLASS AND CIVIL SOCIETY: THE IMPACT ON THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND GOVERNANCE

In the last 40 years, with China's economic opening to the world, China's middle class has grown from a sliver to an estimated 420 million people, roughly one-third of its population. This lifting of hundreds of millions out of poverty has increased standards of living and life expectancy, created a consumer class and added new dimensions of political and demographic factors to Chinese society. During this same time period, China's urban population has soared from 19 percent in 1980 to 58 percent in 2017. A majority of the middle class has internet access, which has contributed to China's massive e-commerce market. Increased consumption has added to environmental stresses and more sedentary lifestyles have led to higher health care costs. We will hear perspectives from two Beijing residents on the rise of China's middle class and its impact on modern Chinese society, with broader implications for the U.S.-China relationship.

Elizabeth Knup, China Director, The Ford Foundation

7-9 pm Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on topics covered in discussions earlier in the day, enhanced by the participation of scholars Paul Haenle, Dan Wang, Brian Jackson, Brian Tse, and Elizabeth Knup.

#### FRIDAY, November 8:

8-9:30 am: Breakfast Discussion:

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE AMERICAN BUSINESS COMMUNITY

Hundreds of American businesses operate in China. We will hear directly from American business representatives doing business in China who will give their perspectives on U.S. policy that impacts their operations.

Ken Jarrett, Senior Advisor, Albright Stonebridge Group, Shanghai. Travis Tanner, Vice President, Greenpoint Group

9:30-10 am: Transit to Yale University Center

10-11:30 am: Panel Discussion

PERSPECTIVES FROM U.S. UNIVERSITIES OPERATING IN CHINA

Many top U.S. universities maintain a presence in China, and many American universities have Chinese students, most who pay full tuition. It is estimated that 360,000 Chinese students study in the U.S. (paying tuition estimated to be \$12 billion annually) and 12,000 Americans study in China. Representatives of U.S. academic institutions will elaborate on their operations in China, what challenges they face, and how they see their role as a factor, if at all, in the greater U.S. China relationship.

- Have student visas become an issue?
   Are exchange programs still strong?
- How dependent are U.S. universities on foreign students' tuition?
   Are there particular challenges for U.S. universities to operate in China?
- Are the university operations subject to or immune from trends in the relationship?

Josh Cheng, Executive Director, Stanford Center at Peking University

Jeremy Daum, Director, Paul Tsai China Law Center, Yale University Law School

Jeffrey Lehman, Vice Chancellor, New York University, Shanghai

Adam Webb, American Co-Director, Hopkins Nanjing Center, Nanjing

11:30-Noon: Transit to Chinese Peoples Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

Noon-1:30 pm Working Lunch

#### CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff members are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on reflections from the week of critical analysis and engagement with implications for U.S. policy.

Li Xiaolin, President, Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries

Robert Daly, Director, Kissinger Institute, Wilson Center
Paul Haenle, Director, Carnegie/Tsinghua Center
Jia Qingguo, Professor, School of International Studies; Peking University
Li Yong, Senior Fellow, China Association of International Trade
Ambassador Su Ge, Co-Chair, China's Pacific Economic Cooperation Council
Wang Yiwei, Director, Institute of International Affairs, Renmin University
Yao Yao, Director, Center for National Soft Power Research, China Foreign
Affairs University

Zhang Yuyuan, Director, Institute of World Economics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

1:30-2:00 pm: Transit to hote!

2:00-2:45 pm Check out of hotel, luggage onboard bus

2:45-3:45 pm: Transit to the airport for international check-in

6:25 pm: Depart Beijing on United Airlines #808

6:50 pm: Arrive in Washington, D.C.